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241 The Highland is evidently well suited to the particular type of
221 agriculture which the Ovimbundu carry on with upland fields for the principal crops of maize and beans growing in the rainy season and with river gardens for secondary cultures in the dry season. The purpose of the latter is to piece out between the principal harvests. The situation of the Highland across principal watersheds and therefore on convenient trade routes has been noted. This is doubtless one factor in commercial development among the
231 Ovimbundu. Cattle-keeping with them seems to be largely a commercial development. While cattle may live on the Highland, they thrive better in the less well-watered lands to the west and the south where the neighbouring peoples are cattle-keepers.

Neighbouring peoples

101 The cattle-keeping peoples who live just west and south of the
197 Ovimbundu are the Nganda, the Ndombe, the Hanya, the Cilenge, the Cipungu, the Muila, the Nyaneka, the Mulondo, and the Khumbi.[1] These peoples all seem to be related to each other and in some way to some, at least, of the Ovimbundu.[2] Still further south beyond these peoples are the Ambo and the Herero, also cattle-keepers. All these, together with the Ovimbundu, have been classified linguistically as making up the 'Western Province' of the Southern Bantu.[3] There are also a few Bushmen on the southern borders.

The peoples to the east and south-east of the Umbundu country are probably Lunda emigrants and so belong to the Congo group (Cokue and Songo) and to the Zambezi or Central group (Luimbi, Lucazi, Nyemba, Ngonzelo, &c.).[4] These people are lumped together by the Ovimbundu under the somewhat deprecatory term of *va Ngangela*.

The northern neighbours belong to the Western or Angola 'cluster' of the Congo group (Esela, Cipala, Lupolo, Ndongo or

[1] See C. Estermann, 'Notas Etnográficas sôbre os povos indígenas do Distrito da Huila' (*Boletim Geral das Colónias*, Fev. 1935, pp. 41–69). He groups some of these people together under the name 'Bangala' or 'Ovambangala'.

[2] Information from Nganda, Mulondo, Cilenge, and Ovimbundu individuals.

[3] See R. A. Dart, 'Racial Origins', p. 23, in Schapera, op. cit., 1937; C. M. Doke, *Bantu Linguistic Terminology* (London: Longmans, 1935); Sir H. H. Johnston, *Comparative Vocabulary of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1919, 1922).

[4] Johnston, op. cit.

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'Kimbundu', Imbangala, &c.). The Esele and the Mbuí, on the north-west, may belong to the Western Province but they have not yet been surely classified.[1]

These neighbouring peoples have been listed only as background for studying the Ovimbundu. Linguistically the Ovimbundu belong to South Africa even as their country geographically is a part of it. 'In respect of climate and vegetation Angola is essentially a borderland and may be regarded as the area of mergence of several distinct zones which attain their fullest development outside the Colony.'[2] Since the Benguela Highland comprises the north-western ridges of the South African sub-continental plateau, it is not surprising that its inhabitants should be the northernmost of the Southern Bantu.[3]

European Administration, Communications, Missions

As a Portuguese colony, Angola is governed under the Ministry of Colonies in Lisbon by a Governor-General whose residence is Luanda, the capital of the colony since 1576. For administrative purposes the colony is divided into five provinces, each with a governor in charge. These are divided into thirteen districts which in turn are divided into circumscriptions and these again into administrative areas. The country of the Ovimbundu is divided between the provinces of Benguela, Bié, and Huila in the districts of Benguela, Huambo, Cuanza-Sul, Bié, and Huila. 'Direct rule' is the method of administration and native political

[1] Ibid.

[2] Walter Fitzgerald, *Africa, a Social, Economic and Political Geography of its Major Regions* (London: Methuen, 1934).

[3] The general census of 1940 (*vide supra*, p. 7, note 2) showed the population as follows:

Whites	44,083
Mixed	28,035
Blacks	3,665,829
Others	63
	3,738,010 (op. cit., vol. i, p. 78 f.)

Of the various tribal divisions, the Ovimbundu ('Mbundo') are listed with 1,331,087 (op. cit., vol. ix, p. 23). Owing to the mistaken inclusion of several small tribal groups, this number should probably be reduced by at least 150,000, but on the other hand there are without doubt more Ovimbundu than this last number who have emigrated to neighbouring colonies and to the Union of South Africa.

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Widespread use of Umbundu

While the home of the Ovimbundu is in the Benguela Highland, the use of their language is now more widespread. The va Nganda and the va Hanya are increasingly using Umbundu. The mixed populations at the coast towns of Lobito, Catumbela, and Benguela use it almost exclusively. It is also used in Novo Redondo, in Mossamedes, and along the Benguela Railway to the interior. There is a considerable *diaspora* of Ovimbundu at widely separated points owing to very recent movements.

For more extensive treatment of the various aspects of the problems touched upon in this introductory chapter, works listed in the bibliography may be consulted. A complete description of the habitat has not been attempted but only sufficient to provide the necessary background for the study as a whole.

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Ovimbundu and their neighbours. I have no tables representative of the Umbundu-speaking *diaspora* at the coast and in other outlying regions. There is an interesting and significant article in *Africa*[1] on those of these *diaspora* which are settled in the Mossamedes–Lubango area. The author has done all that could be expected within the limits of an article necessarily short, and it is to be hoped that subsequent writings may clear up matters left in doubt, especially with regard to the present social structure of the groups described.[2]

The social structure described in this chapter is that of the main body of the Ovimbundu. I may say that from observations and from a study of the genealogical tables collected, I have concluded that the structure of kinship and of social life is fairly homogeneous throughout the several tribes.

The Tribe

A complete enumeration of the Umbundu-speaking tribes or kingdoms with descriptions of their reciprocal relations is included in Chapter XII. Almost half of the twenty-two kingdoms were generally tributaries of one of the larger or more powerful kings, so that for practical purposes the Ovimbundu may be divided into eight or ten tribal groups. Although more than half of the Umbundu kingdoms may be said to be feudatories of the larger ones, it is nevertheless true that each of them had its own separate

[1] C. Estermann, 'Coutumes des Mbali du Sud d'Angola', *Africa*, Jan. 1939, pp. 74–86. The author states that their language is Kimbundu (of Luanda-Malange), but the examples which he gives show that although there are words borrowed from Kimbundu, from Portuguese, and from other sources, the structure both of verbs and of nouns and the method of 'Bantuization' of Portuguese words belong to Umbundu. These people may declare their language to be 'Kimbundu' in imitation of the European usage. So did the native 'Mohongo' taken to Paris by the Mission Rohan-Chabot (*Angola et Rhodesie*, Paris, 1914). I have personally ascertained that Umbundu is commonly spoken in Mossamedes and may also say that the samples of the language given in this article show it to be much the same as that spoken in the cities of Benguela, Lobito, &c. It would be better if an orthography more nearly like that recommended by the International African Institute were used. The term 'Mbali' (va Mbali, Mambari, Ovimbali) is an Umbundu term used for nearly one hundred years to designate those who imitate the Europeans or who live at or near the European towns which are collectively designated by the cognate term—*Lupali*. (For 'Mambari', &c., *vide* Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, pp. 91 f., 671, 384, &c.)

[2] e.g., who is the '*tante* de la jeune mariée ou la "marraine" des noces'? (*op. cit.*, p. 78).

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Kinship groupings: *oluse* and *oluina*.[1] Every Ocimbundu belongs to an *oluse*, i.e. his father's kin, and to an *oluina*, i.e. his mother's kin. Each of these family groupings is divided into male and female lines (*onēlē yohonji*, 'the side of the bow'; *onēlē yohumba*, 'the side of the basket'). Uterine brothers and sisters belong to the same *oluse* and *oluina*, and to the male or female 'side' respectively, according to sex. It is of great importance to get a clear idea of this bilateral nature of these kinship groupings. Every student of ethnology will note the similarity of this division to the Herero *oruzo* and *eanda*.[2] Considering the affinities between the Herero and Umbundu languages, I think that these conceptions are probably related. Further study of other peoples of this Western Bantu zone may reveal cultural and racial as well as linguistic affinities.[3] The *oluse* and *oluina* of the Ovimbundu follow their own pattern.

The *oluse* consists of a large number of local village groups, some of which recognize mutual relationships, but with no recognized headship save in the case of the several royal families. The only suggestion of any totemic relation or origin is with the royal families which have in common several taboos with regard to certain animals the flesh of which may not be eaten, nor the skins used, &c. Chief of these animals are the *ongulungu* (bushbuck, *Tragelaphus scriptus*), the *ocisema*[4] (the waterbuck, *Cobus defessa*

[1] *Olu-se*, perhaps 'the place of father', the root *se* being equivalent to the forms *sa*, *so*, *isia*; *olu-ina*, perhaps 'the place of mother'.

[2] See Vedder, pp. 185 ff. (in *The Native Tribes of South West Africa*): 'The Herero nation is divided into 2 large family groups . . . the Herero belongs to the *oruzo* of his father and also to the *eanda* of his mother.' J. Irle, *Die Herero* (Gutersloh, 1906), pp. 87–93.

[3] An interesting study of the VaNyaneka, one of the cattle-rearing people living between Ambo and Umbundu territory, was recently published: A. Lang et C. Tastevin, *La Tribu des Va-Nyaneka* (Mission Rohan-Chabot, Tome V), Corbeil: Impr. Créto. This volume was not available in England or the U.S.A. until 1940, and could not therefore have been used in the present study. I may now say, however, that the authors' treatment of the social structure is not such that it would help to solve the problem in question. The clans are described only from the standpoint of totemism. The maternal line of descent (*e-anda*) is briefly mentioned (p. 45), but not the corresponding paternal line. The authors' evident lack of familiarity with other Bantu material is a great drawback. The system used for the transcription of the vernacular is most confusing, owing to an evident lack of understanding of the Bantu phonetic and grammatical genius with consequent procrustean attempts to force it into foreign forms.

[4] The king's sons may not eat flesh of the *ocisema* lest they should *sema sema*, 'have an impediment of speech'. This may be simply a taboo on grounds of *similia similibus* (or the obverse).

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that question concerning the Ovimbundu. Rather, whence did they come and when? Can the lines of their migrations now be ascertained? Can their racial origins be determined with even approximate certainty?

The available evidence regarding origins and migrations of the Ovimbundu is mainly of five sorts: (1) linguistic; (2) legendary, whether of the several groups of the Ovimbundu or of the tribes from which they seem to have sprung; (3) historical; (4) evidence from place-names; and (5) evidence of comparative attitudes and culture-traits as between the Ovimbundu and their neighbours. In addition, we might list evidence of physical measurements and blood-group tests, but such evidence is not yet available for the Ovimbundu.

Tribal Origins

Language Affinities. As I pointed out in the introductory chapter, by linguistic classification the Ovimbundu belong to the western 'province' or group of the Southern Bantu. Linguistically, the Ovimbundu belong with their southern neighbours, the so-called 'Bangala'[1] and with the Ambo and Herero. The northern and eastern neighbours all belong to other language groups. This is a fact that must not be lost sight of, especially since Umbundu has been so often confused with the so-called 'Kimbundu' of the Ndongo or Angola kingdom. We are not surprised to find an author of 1846 declare that 'From the Congo to Cabo Negro (Alexander Bay) these black natives all speak the same language (*bunda*) with small changes of dialect';[2] but when this confusion is compounded in works laying claim to considerable value as linguistic and ethnological studies, as, for example, one which was published by a well-known museum in 1930,[3] a protest is in order.

[1] The Ndombe, Nganda, Cilengi, Cipungo, Muila, Mulondo, Humbi, Gambue, &c. I do not know that the term 'Bangala' may be applied with correctness to these people. I only use it for convenience. See 'Notas Etnográficas sôbre os povos indígenas do Distrito da Huila', *Boletim Geral das Colónias*, fev. 1935, p. 41.

[2] Lopes de Lima, *Ensaios sôbre a Statistica d'Angola e Benguella*, part i, p. 196.

[3] See F. u. W. Jaspert, *Die Völkerstämme Mittel-Angolas* (Frankfort, 1930). It is reported that the spurious nature of the works of these writers has been exposed by Baumann and others, but although I have searched, apart from a rather ambiguous footnote in Baumann's *Lunda*, I have found no such references, and am unable to say whether this has been done. The origin of the erroneous concept of a Bunda language (also called Bundu, or Mbundu), has been traced, and correctly I think on the whole, by Max Buchner, 'Die Ambakisten' (in

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Sir Harry Johnston made this classification abundantly clear in his monumental work published in 1919,[1] and the recent translation and revision of Carl Meinhof's important work on Bantu phonology[2] has used Umbundu extensively for illustrative material. It should now be abundantly clear to all that Umbundu is the northernmost of the Southern Bantu languages, and that in their language the Ovimbundu have elements in common with their southern neighbours.

Traditional Histories. Each of the principal groups among the Ovimbundu has legends with regard to the migrations of their forefathers and the country from which they came. For the most part these legends refer to ancestors of the respective royal families, but some references are also made to the people whom these new-comers found in the country which they came to occupy. All of these legends point to countries of origin in the north or north-east. Several writers have noted this as a fact,[3] but it is necessary to take more explicit notice of each of several legends.

Ndulu has not received as much notice as have some of the other Umbundu kingdoms, but I have come to the conclusion that it is perhaps one of the oldest. The tradition runs that the progenitor of the dynasty, Katekula-Mengo, was an elephant-hunter and that he came with his wife, Ukungu (also called Mbala) from the region of the confluence of the Luandu and the Kuanza rivers. Following elephant-herds down the course of the Kuanza they passed the famous rocks of Pungu-a-Ndongo and in them left the imprints of Katekula-Mengo's bow and of Ukungu's basket, which, it is said, may be seen to this day; for in that early day the rocks had not yet hardened but were like fresh concrete. This couple

Zeitschr. f. Ethnol., 1915, pp. 398 ff.). This writer also interestingly and properly shows how the name Kimbundu came to be mistakenly applied to the Ngola or Ndongo language. The error, however, still continues to be propagated (e.g. *vide* A. Miranda Magalhães, 'Os Ambundus de Angola', &c., in *Trabalhos do 1º Congresso Nacional de Antropologia Colonial*, Pôrto, 1934, vol. ii, pp. 536–55). This article contains so little of value that a systematic refutation would not be worth while. The writer's notions on the Bantu migrations seem especially fantastic.

[1] *A Comparative Vocabulary of Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages*, vol. i.

[2] Meinhof, *An Introduction to the Phonology of the Bantu Languages*, translated, revised, and enlarged (Berlin and London, 1932).

[3] J. T. Tucker, *Drums in the Darkness*, p. 34 f. W. D. Hambly (*The Ovimbundu of Angola*) notes this fact at the beginning of his otherwise rather confused chapter on 'Historical Sources'.

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had Portuguese names, and tradition speaks of a great accession of mulatto stock, which also is confirmed by observation.

The Umbundu-speaking border groups are interesting. Ngamba was formerly occupied by the Songo and has been peopled by Ovimbundu coming from near the capital of Viye only within the past forty years. Cengi, Sanga, Namba, and Kasongi on the northern flank of Bailundu have probably all only recently become Umbundu-speaking groups. Kasongi is one of the largest groups which paid tribute to Bailundu, and has had a line of Umbundu-speaking kings for more than a hundred years; but judging from genealogical evidence the bulk of the people have not been Ovimbundu that long. Civula is another large group and its uncertain feudal status has been noted. Perhaps the most interesting of the border groups, at least from a linguistic standpoint, is Kalukembe. The royal house seems to have come from Ciyaka and it has been claimed that in Kalukembe the kingship is inherited by the mother's brother's son. This is not supported by the only local traditional history which I have been able to secure and requires further investigation. At any rate it is through the maternal line that the commoners of all the Umbundu-speaking groups inherit, and it is noteworthy that this is also true of the kingship among the 'Bangala' and the Ambo tribes.[1] The 'Bangala' people have clan organizations and are exogamous, so that they may marry in any of the related 'Bangala' groups, and for this purpose they include the Kalukembe but not others of the Ovimbundu.[2] Finally, the variations with which Umbundu is spoken in Kalukembe[3] point to closer connexions with the language-group of the 'Bangala'. There are certain areas which at the present day seem to be undergoing a linguistic 'Umbundu-ization'. This is most evident in the coast towns such as Novo Redondo, Lobito, Catumbela, Benguela,

[1] See Estermann, 'Notas Etnográficas sôbre os povos do Distrito da Huila' in *Boletim Geral das Colónias*, fev. 1935, p. 63; Hahn, *et al.*, *The Native Tribes of South West Africa*, p. 8.

[2] This last item was learned from Mulondo people. The above-cited article deals only with the people of the District of Huila, while 'Bangala' people live also in other adjoining districts.

[3] Compare Umbundu language work of H. Chatelain and others of the 'Mission Philafricaine' in Kalukembe, as versus illustrations of Umbundu used by Johnston, Meinhof, *et al.* Evidently the native 'Mohongo' taken to Paris by Homburger of the Mission Rohan-Chabot, was a native of Kalukembe, for the 'Bailoundou' vocabulary taken from him is of the Kalukembe variation. (See *Mission Rohan-Chabot*, t. III, f. 1.)

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and Mossamedes. The region of Catumbela, and perhaps of Benguela, seems to have been subjected to migrations of Ovimbundu, or of proto-Ovimbundu, between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries, and it is probable that some of these groups early established themselves there permanently.[1] At the present time peoples of many tribes make up the population of these towns and of the surrounding regions, but Umbundu is already the dominant speech, and in Lobito and Catumbela almost no other Bantu language is heard. Certain other areas on the fringe of the Umbundu lands now seem to be in process of 'Umbunduization', at least as regards language. This does not seem to have taken place in Musende, in Cipala (Quibala), or in Sela, in spite of the long time during which they owned the king of Bailundu as their overlord. Just now, however, such a process seems to be taking place in Mbuiva (Amboiva), in Cisanji (area of Bocoio), in Nganda, and in Cikomba (Chicomba, south of Caconda).

Some of the neighbouring peoples have traditions of migrations which corroborate the traditions of the Ovimbundu. The Nganda say that they formerly lived in the region of Wambu, around the rocks of Nganda-la-Kawe, and that they moved down-country for two reasons: (1) to escape Wambu-Kalunga and his penchant for eating their children; (2) to be by themselves to practise the rite of circumcision. When they migrated to their present home, the kingdom of Ciyaka, they say, was not yet established.

Traditions of the Herero and Ambo peoples may have bearing on the problem of the migrations of the Ovimbundu. Dr. Vedder concludes from tradition and genealogical evidence that the Herero must have crossed the Kunene 'about the year 1700'.[2] Some of the tribes of Angola with which the Njimba-Herero claim relationship[3] may easily be identified as belonging to the 'Bangala' group, as, for example, the Ovangambue, the Ovangumbi, and the Ovatjerenge, which are plainly the va Ngambue, the va Khumbi (or Nkhumbi), and the va Cilengi, respectively. Other names in the list are very much like some place-names in the Umbundu country.

Traditions of the Songo and Lunda people have already been

[1] According to a Ciyaka tradition. Also see A. Bastos, *Monographia de Catumbella*, pp. 6, 7; L. Cordeiro (ed.), *Benguella e seu sertão*, 1617–22; Ravenstein (ed.), op. cit., p. 19 f.

[2] Hahn *et al.*, op. cit., p. 157.

[3] Loc. cit.

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The Ovimbundu are not ordinary cannibals, if indeed that term may be applied to any people in Africa, nor do the commoners of the Ovimbundu ever eat human flesh on their own account, but no king may ever reign or be considered as regularly enthroned until he has 'eaten Ekongo'.[1] The cannibalism traditionally ascribed to Wambu-Kalunga is also a case in point.[2] Other human sacrifices practised by the 'Jagas' and described by Battell also have their counterparts in the practices of the Umbundu kingdoms.[3] The mode of the burial of the dead described by Battell[4] is essentially that which has been used, at least until the last few years, for the kings and the other 'holy'[5] men of the Ovimbundu, except that where rock caves are available the use of them has been adopted and in Kasongi cairns were used. The sitting posture and the sacrifice of wives or slaves and cattle (or of substitutes) are the important points, and these have everywhere been used for the classes mentioned, until quite recently.

The custom of keeping boys captured from the enemy and training them to be fearless warriors amid the terrors of the country has a parallel in the Umbundu custom of the king's slaves,[6] who came from another land[7] and would therefore do the king's bidding without fear, favour, or consideration of family feeling. They often reached high position and certain of the king's ministers always came from among them. There seem to be many recollections of the 'Jagas' in the customs of the kings' sons.[8] Names of certain of the officials seem to have survived, as, for example, Mani (*muēlē*) Lumbo, Mani-Curio (*Muēkalia*), Golambolo (*Ngalamboli*), Tendala (*Candala*), Ukuetambo,[9] &c. Careful linguistic studies would doubtless reveal many remains of the speech

[1] *Oku lia Ekongo*—lit. 'to eat the Old One'. This is a ritual feast in which the flesh of a specially fattened slave is eaten mixed with the flesh of various animals. See Ravenstein, op. cit., p. 33, note 3. Magyar described this custom, calling it '*Owri-Kongo*', op. cit., pp. 275 ff.

[2] See *supra*, p. 176.

[3] Compare Ravenstein, op. cit.

[4] Op. cit., p. 34 f.

[5] 'Holy' in the sense of spirit possessed—the king, the hunter, the medical practitioner, and the smith.

[6] *Ocinduli cosoma*, singular. May there be some recollection of 'Kinguri' (=Cinguli) in this word?

[7] In Bailundu the *ovinduli viosoma* (plural) came mostly from Luandu, i.e. the Songo country across the Kuanza—further evidence of connexion with Lunda emigrants.

[8] *Omālē volosoma*, used collectively of all the royal families of the Ovimbundu.

[9] Cavazzi, op. cit., pp. 206 f., 211.

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which the 'Jagas' had, although they soon adopted the language of the people whom they conquered. As recently as fifty years ago the mother of the king of Bailundu spoke Umbundu brokenly, since she came from Cipala, and her sons were sent to complete their education with her people where later they were often called to rule.[1]

Recognition by the Ciyaka people that their forefathers came from the region where the Imbangala now live has been noted. It may have been a similar tradition heard in Viye which started Magyar to find out the tradition of 'Kinguri'. Such a tradition was mentioned in Viye as late as 1898.[2] This relation between the Umbundu ruling families and either the 'Jagas' or the Imbangala has been noted by several of the Portuguese writers. Lopes de Lima, in his History of the Discovery of the Congo, adds a footnote on the 'Jagas' as follows: 'The Jagas are almost nomadic peoples . . . coming from the interior of Africa, . . . there are some on the frontiers of the Congo, Angola, and Benguella, where some have fixed their habitations (as those of Cassange, and Bailundo).'[3] Writing in 1797 a certain Col. Pinheiro de Lacerda said of the inhabitants of Ngalangi, Kakonda, Wambu, Bailundu, &c.: 'These are they of the uplands, who are divided into two groups, those of one are called "Quinbundos",[4] (these do not eat human flesh); the others are called "Quimbangalas", who eat it, and when they make their sacrifice, which all attend, all eat the "Macongo".'[5] At that period the diversity of these two component parts of the Ovimbundu people was so apparent that they were even spoken of as separate and distinct peoples.

Place-names. Before leaving the subject of migratory movements a word should be said on the evidence of place-names. There is nothing to prove, except in a few instances where traditions have been collected, that the recurrence of identical or similar names at different places indicates the actual lines of migration followed by the several tribal groups represented. It may be said, however, that this line of evidence, taken together

[1] See *Missionary Herald*, 1888, p. 70.
[2] *Missionary Herald*, 1898, p. 108.
[3] *Annaes Mar. Col.*, 1845, p. 93.
[4] Taken from the singular form *ocimbundu*. As already explained, the change of *chi* to *qui* is a commonly met mutilation of the Bantu forms.
[5] *Annaes Mar. Col.*, 1845, p. 488. There follows a circumstantial account of the ceremony of *Oku lia Ekongo*, to which reference has already been made.

1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP13 Mbundu FP13

mbundu. They are the result of a fusion of diverse stocks, chiefly of the Southern Bantu and of the Congo or Central Bantu peoples. The ruling families probably were Lunda emigrants for the most part,[1] at least in their origin. It was probably during the seventeenth century that these people entered the Benguela Highland and began to found their respective dynasties. The people whom they encountered in these lands were mostly of Southern Bantu stock, with some 'Ngangela' people in Ndulu, Viye, and Ngalangi. The upper strata of these local populations seem to have moved on with their cattle to join related stocks in the border regions, while the masses seem to have stayed behind to form the nucleus of the Ovimbundu. Especially does this appear to have been the case with the original Southern Bantu stock, for many who were cattle-owners seem to have fled to the drier and more suitable lands in the south and west, while those who stayed must have lost to the invaders such cattle as they had. Only in the south-west (especially Kalukembe) was the Southern Bantu influence of sufficient strength to preserve any semblance of the cattle-culture complex, together with a recognition of kinship from their southern neighbours. Everywhere, it seems, the Southern Bantu nucleus was of sufficient strength to exert a dominant linguistic influence. It is certainly noteworthy that over the whole region a single language has developed with only small dialectic differences[2]—and that without benefit of political union. Commercial intercourse has probably largely supplied the place of the latter.

Historical Development

Dominant Tendency. The origins of the principal groups of the Ovimbundu have been traced in outline from both native and European sources. It now remains to sketch the main lines of

[1] But Viye and Ngalangi traditions *in re* the origin of their ruling families must be borne in mind—traditions also supported by other evidence.

[2] Retention of peculiarities of the parent stock by Kalukembe has been noted. There are certain noticeable differences as between 'up-country' and 'down-country'—roughly divided by the Keve and Kunene Rivers. Each of the outlying regions has its own peculiarities due to local foreign influences. In Kasongi, in Ngalangi, and in Viye these are quite noticeable but can hardly be called separate dialects. Regions of older European occupation—Kakonda and Viye—have taken more from the Portuguese. In consideration of these facts and the further fact that the Viye racial stock had a larger 'Ngangela' element than had other regions, the recent linguistic influence of Viye has been out of all proportion to reality and may be explained by the relatively larger number of missions and missionaries working in that region.

174 169 families, probably for the most part of Lunda origin, entered the Benguella Highlands during the seventeenth century and began to found their respective kingdoms. The tribes whom they encountered appear to have belonged to the cattle-keeping Ndombe-Nganda or to the Nyangela group.(1) Childs suggests that the upper strata of these local populations must have moved on southwards with their cattle to join related stocks in the border regions, while the masses stayed behind to form the nucleus of the Ovimbundu. The cultural influence of these early inhabitants on the Ovimbundu seems to have been slight, except in the south-west, particularly in Kalukembe, where a semblance of the cattle-culture complex remains, together with a recognition of kinship ties with southern neighbours (see below). The linguistic [197] influence of the Southern Bantu (Ndombe-Nganda) group in the south and west has however been considerable. It is noteworthy that over the whole Ovimbundu region a single language has developed with only small dialectal differences, and that although commercial contact has assisted this development, it has not been fostered by political union between the various segments of the Ovimbundu.

TRADITIONS

173 166 Each of the principal groups listed above (page 2) has separate legends of origin. Usually these traditions refer to the birthplace and adventures of the ancestors of the chiefly families, and only mention the indigenous inhabitants. Childs has made a careful and lucid summary of the traditions of the various groups;(2) these are therefore only very briefly outlined below.

Ndulu. There is evidence that Ndulu may be one of the oldest Ovimbundu kingdoms. The progenitor of the ruling dynasty is said to have come from the region near the confluence of the Kwanza and Lunado rivers, and to have conquered and expelled the Luimbe, who live today to the east of Ndulu. This migration may have been a result of the prolonged wars between the Portuguese and the Kingdom of Angola,(3) which ended in 1671.

Bailundu. The Bailundu dynasty is said to have its origin in Cipala, a region which remained subject to Bailundu until the end of the nineteenth century, and from which, according to tradition, the king's principal wife comes. Childs estimates the date of the foundation of the dynasty at not earlier than about 1700. The Sambu ruling family is said to descend either from a woman of Bailundu stock or from common stock with the Bailundu.

Viye. Versions of the Viye legend are recorded by Tucker,(4) Serpa Pinto,(5) Silva Porto,(6) and Magyar,(7) and these do not all agree. According to the most widely-known version today, Viye, an elephant-hunter of the Humbi people, tracking game down the Kwanza valley, met and married a princess of the Songo people; their son, Ulundu, founded the Viye chiefdom. From documentary evidence Childs estimates that this must have been in about 1750. This version also suggests that the original inhabitants were of the Nyangela group of tribes.

(1) See above, p.3.
(2) Op.cit., pp.170-81.
(3) To the north of the present Ovimbundu country.
(4) 1927, pp.34f.
(5) 1881, vol.I, pp.156f.
(6) 1942, pp.165-71.
(7) 1859, pp.266f.

known throughout the territory bounded by the Congo river, the Great Lakes, and the Kalahari desert. Most other Ovimbundu kingdoms fell into line with the trading activities of Bailundu and Viye. By the middle of the century this had resulted in a loose system of alliances and mutual understandings to the effect that the traders and caravans of each kingdom would be permitted to enter or travel through the others. At time these "trade-agreements" seem to have embraced all the Umbundu-speaking peoples, but violations were frequent, especially between Viye and the Ciyaka-Cingola-Citata group. Trade-agreements were also made beyond the Umbundu-speaking area, e.g. with the Mwata Yamvo of the Lunda.(1)

From roughly the turn of the twentieth century the large-scale trading activities of the Ovimbundu declined. Military occupation of Viye and Bailundu took place in 1890, and from that date European traders began to settle in Viye and Bailundu in ever-increasing numbers. In 1902 the Bailundu war occurred, after which the occupation of the whole of Umbundu country was quickly completed. This campaign paralysed trade, which was already suffering because of a great fall in rubber prices. Other factors which hastened the decline of Ovimbundu trading activities(2) include the famine in Ngangela country in 1911, the disappearance of illicit slave-traffic, and, finally, the building of the Benguella Railway (commenced in 1904), which put an end to the porterage and trading caravans of former days.(3)

LANGUAGE

"Umbundu is usually(4) associated with Ambo, Herero and kindred languages. It would however seem that more comparative study is required to show how real this apparent relationship is: it appears to be especially based on the fact that Umbundu uses prefixial o- with many of its noun classes. In general structure, however, Umbundu shows remarkable similarity in grammar and vocabulary to Luena, Luchazi and other languages of the Ganguella [Ngangela] group.

Features of Umbundu which are worthy of note are:-

i. Presence of nasal vowels before and after 'l', 'h', 'v' and 'w'.

ii. In certain nasal compounds, subtraction occurs, involving the second consonant, but not the nasal, e.g. muntu is realised as omuu.

iii. Compared with the Lunda-Luena languages Umbundu exhibits an unusually large number of defective verbs.

iv. A vowel system of five vowels.

(1) These were at first one-way agreements, allowing Ovimbundu to trade in many lands, since it was to the advantage of the rulers of these countries. The Ovimbundu are said in fact to have discouraged the tribes to the east from venturing out on their own account. See Livingstone 1857, p.394, Cameron 1877, p.406.
(2) For much greater detail concerning the rise and fall of Ovimbundu trade see Childs op.cit., pp.191-215.
(3) Ibid.
(4) Doke 1945, p.101; Guthrie 1948, p.64; Childs 1949, p.8.

v. Two significant tones on radicals; no tonal alternance on nominal suffixes. In this Umbundu resembles the Lunda-Luena languages."(1)

Childs(2) classifies Umbundu with the Ambo-Herero group as belonging to the Western Province of Southern Bantu. He suggests(3) that the similarity of Umbundu to the Ngangela languages is due to the dominating influence of the Umbundu spoken in Viye (where the racial stock had a greater Ngangela element) over that spoken in other regions. This dominating influence may be explained by the relatively large number of missions in the Viye region, and presumably also by the activities of Viye traders.(4)

Dialectal differences in Umbundu speech are very small. There are certain noticeable differences between "up-country" and "down-country", roughly divided by the Keve and Kunene rivers. Each of the outlying regions has its own peculiarities, often due to foreign influences.(5)

It has been mentioned above that while the homeland of the Ovimbundu is in the Benguella Highland, the use of the Umbundu language is now more widespread. The Nganda and the Hanya tribes are increasingly using it, and the mixed populations of the coastal towns of Lobito, Katumbela and Benguella use it almost exclusively. It is also spoken in Nova Redondo, in Mossamedes, and along the Benguella Railway. This process of "Umbundu-ization" does not seem however to be taking place in Cipala, Sela or Musende, in spite of the long period during which they owned the king of Bailundu as their overlord.(6)

PHYSICAL APPEARANCE AND DRESS

Among the Ovimbundu two main physical types are distinguished by some writers:(7) one is of brown skin colour and slender build, the other a shorter, darker type with more facial hair. No correlation of these types with chiefly families on the one hand and commoners on the other has been recorded. Hambly(8) gives several good illustrations of physical types among the Ovimbundu, and contrasts them with those found among neighbouring tribes.

The Ovimbundu retain distinctive styles of dress, ornament, tooth mutilation (a V-shaped notch in the upper incisors), scarification and hair-dressing. Women are dressed in trade cloth: unmarried girls wear one piece of cloth which hangs from the armpits to the knees, while a married woman drapes herself with two pieces of cloth, a skirt hanging from her girdle, and an upper piece so folded as to hold her baby tightly on her back. Certain cloth designs are considered appropriate for girls, others only for older women. Men now dress usually in European fashion.

(1) This linguistic note has been written by C.M.N. White.
(2) Op.cit., p.169. (3) p.190, fn.2.
(4) See above, pp.8-9.
(5) Childs op.cit., p.190, fn.2. See also Kalukembe, p.7 above.
(6) Childs, op.cit., pp.11, 179-80.
(7) See Hambly 1934, p.128; Cashmore 1944, p.36.
(8) Op.cit., plates XLIX-LIV.

3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

121 Geographical study is valuable in showing that physical factors such as position, topography, soil, and climate have had not only a permissive but a stimulating effect on the development of certain cultural traits.

127 Historical documents dating from the year A.D. 1500 present valuable evidence for tribal movements, the effect of early European contacts, and the existence of certain beliefs and ceremonies. The facts adduced in chapter III are used in chapters X–XII in discussing culture contacts and cultural processes.

197 Inquiry respecting relationships of the Ovimbundu to other African tribes is aided by a study of the Umbundu language, which is shown to be of pure Bantu structure and vocabulary (chapter VIII). The characteristic features of the Umbundu language are those which form the basic elements of Bantu speech in general. These characteristics are alliterative concord (that is, repetition of the prefix before every word in agreement with the noun); absence of grammatical gender; and a position of the genitive in which the name of the thing possessed comes before the possessor. Umbundu, though structurally assignable to the Bantu group, has its own vocabulary, whose degree of relationship to that of surrounding peoples may to some extent be judged by the vocabularies of F. and W. Jaspert (Die Völkerstämme Mittel Angolas, Frankfort, 1930, pp. 144–150). The fact that the language of the Ovimbundu has become the lingua franca of Angola, still further testifies to the thoroughness of the contacts, which from historical sources are known to have been made in the period 1500–1900.

104 The spelling of proper names leaves a wide margin for individual preference. The Umbundu language requires "M" before "B," yet custom has sanctioned the form Bailundu. Nevertheless I have retained "N" in Ngalangi despite the form Galangi on several maps. Maps show great diversity of spelling, but I have adhered throughout to Kipungo (Quipungo) and Kwanza (Quanza). Among tribal names I prefer Vakuanyama to OvaKwanyama and Vachokue to BaKioko or BaDjokue; in making the choice I have tried to imitate the sounds I heard from the natives themselves. In referring to the papers of E. Torday, who knew the southwest Congo well and spoke several Congo languages fluently, I note that he sometimes prefers to recognize the prefix as in BaMbala and BaYaka, but he also writes Badjokue and Bayaka. J. H. Weeks writes Bangala (BaNgala). C. H. L. Hahn uses the form Ovambo (OvaMbo). Ovimbundu I have preferred throughout; the accent is on the

VIII. LANGUAGE

Affinities of Umbundu

197 The Umbundu language is widely understood in Angola owing to the journeys of the Ovimbundu as raiders and traders in large caravans. Umbundu is as important for communication in Angola as Hausa is for Nigeria, or Swahili for the east coast of Africa.

Notwithstanding this use of Umbundu as a lingua franca it is necessary to note that tribes surrounding the Ovimbundu have their own distinctive Bantu languages; moreover, the Umbundu language itself has several dialects.

For example, the Vasele tribe living in rugged country in the hinterland of Novo Redondo have a dialect of Umbundu (Usele) so distinctive that a competent Ocimbundu interpreter has difficulty in making himself understood, or interpreting what is said. Isolation of the Vasele from the Ovimbundu has led to the formation of a cultural pocket in which linguistic developments have shared in [184] a specialization of culture. The differences between the Umbundu of Elende and that of the Ambundu tribes may be noted by comparing this brief outline of Umbundu, recorded at Elende, with the records of Amandus Johnson, whose research relates to the language spoken in the hinterland of Loanda. The present chapter will deal only with notes on vocabulary, phonetics, an outline of grammar, sign language, folklore and proverbs, all of which are briefly treated. In the field phonographic records of the Umbundu language were taken, and for the analysis of tonal values and other aspects of phonetics I am indebted to Dr. M. H. Watkins, a student of Professor E. Sapir, formerly of the University of Chicago, now at Yale.

The section on Umbundu grammar conclusively shows Umbundu to be a representative language of the Bantu family of languages. Umbundu possesses all the fundamental characteristics of Bantu [113] speech. The truth of this may be seen by comparing this outline of Umbundu with the analysis of Bantu languages given by A. Werner (Language Families of Africa, London, 1925). Moreover, Carl Meinhof (Grundzüge einer vergleichenden Grammatik der Bantu Sprachen, Berlin, 1906, pp. 112-115, and translation by A. Werner and N. J. von Warmelo, London, 1932) indicates the degree of relationship of Umbundu to other Bantu tongues by giving comparisons of the stems of personal and possessive pronouns, along with other comparative data.

3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

H. H. Johnston (A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages, Oxford, 1919, vol. I, p. 350) places Umbundu in his Group X; that is, the southwestern group of Bantu languages. Johnston's map indicates that throughout Angola there is a gradual transition from the southwestern Bantu group to that of the southwest Congo, which is exactly what might be expected from a consideration of the geographical position of Angola. Johnston's grouping is based on root forms and vocabulary.

This difficulty of making a comparison of the affinities of Umbundu does not preclude the possibility of recording some preliminary observations, especially with regard to vocabulary.

F. and W. Jaspert have prepared a comparative vocabulary of 250 words in the languages of the Ovimbundu, the Luena, the Basongo, the Luchazi, the Luimbi, and the Vachokue tribes. Inspection of the columns indicates a close connection of Songo, Luchazi, and Luimbi; in fact, the vocabularies of the two latter are almost identical. The vocabularies of the Vachokue and the Luena have much in common with those mentioned, but the Umbundu vocabulary has only a minor agreement with the vocabularies of these eastern and northeastern tribes. There are, however, some words which are identical in all these languages mentioned by F. and W. Jaspert. Examples of identity, or very close similarity, are found in the words for "bow," "elephant," "to eat," "firestick," "finger," and a few other forms, but the principal deduction from inspection of the columns is the distinctiveness of the Umbundu vocabulary.

On the contrary, examination of the vocabularies of the Ovimbundu and the Vakuanyama, of the south of Angola, appears to justify Johnston's inclusion of Umbundu with southwestern Bantu in so far as similarity of vocabulary is a criterion. The correspondence is further borne out by P. H. Brincker's "Lehrbuch des Oshikuanyama." In the light of these comparisons the relationship of Umbundu vocabularies is readily seen, for instead of searching for similarities the numerous identities are at once evident. At a glance one sees that the Umbundu and Kuanyama words for "arm," "arrow," "ax," "banana," "beard," "bird," "blood," "bone," "breast," "charcoal," "guinea fowl," "hand," and "hoe," are either identical or closely related. I noted the easy communication of my Ocimbundu interpreter with the Vakuanyama of Mongua.

Some of the following chapters show that the Ovimbundu have an undeniable southwest Congo culture; they have, however, taken

197 cattle and a few other traits from the Vakuanyama of southern Angola, and there seems to be no doubt that the vocabularies of the Ovimbundu and the Vakuanyama have been influenced by these southern contacts. Yet structure will prove the final arbiter in deciding linguistic relationships, for the Ovimbundu as extensive travelers have widely distributed their vocabulary.

Caution is necessary in making comparisons of Umbundu with surrounding languages; for, although Kuanyama has received careful attention, and the researches of Meinhof have given a reliable background for Ovambo and Herero speech, the language of the Vachokue of eastern Angola and the speech of the Mussurongo of northern Angola, call for a comprehensive work. Moreover, there yet remains the task of providing a standard Umbundu dictionary and grammar, and pending the collation of this linguistic material there are no means of determining the exact syntactical, phonetic, and other relationships of Umbundu.

VOCABULARY

192 Apart from a broad question of the linguistic evidence of culture contacts, there are points of interest connected with the recording of vocabularies in a restricted area. Under the heading "Nature Lore" attention was called to an extensive Umbundu vocabulary connected with those activities which underlie the economic structure. The vocabulary showed that the Ovimbundu are keen observers whose activities have resulted in the formation of a large vocabulary arising from trades and occupations. In nature study many fine distinctions are made; thus, there are words to distinguish not only trees and plants of economic importance, but varieties of snakes and lizards which are of no great economic interest.

[868] In order to test further mental activity and the acquisition of vocabulary, an Ocimbundu girl of about twelve years of age was asked to name some of the objects in my collection. Without hesitation she made the following list. The object was indicated, then the child gave the name. This information was checked by an adult interpreter who found that the child was correct in every instance, although the objects do not specially appeal to the interests of a young girl.

The objects named by this girl are as follows:

Ocimanda. Wooden dish.
Omalopa. Tobacco-pipe made from a horn.
Elenga. Pipe for smoking hemp.
Ocimanga. Brass bracelet.
Ulinda. Switch made from the tail of an ox.
Ocpaulenga. Leather pouch for belt.
Upi. Pounding stick.
Ondenja. Gourd with a long neck.

3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

177 [197] The Ovambo include eight kindred tribes, all of whom are branches of the Bantu linguistic family to which the Ovimbundu belong. The Vakuanyama, who inhabit large tracts of southern Angola, are a numerous, warlike, pastoral branch of the Ovambo. The Vakuanyama are the only section of the cattle-keeping peoples of the southwest of Africa with whom I have made personal contact; but their culture is generally representative of that of the Ovambo and the Herero.

171 233 When making a journey southward from the country of the Ovimbundu in central Angola, there is a noticeable increase in the size of the kraals as the journey is continued. The first large kraal was observed near Kipungo, and when as far south as Mongua the wealthy cattle-keeping Vakuanyama were by far the most numerous people. Their total strength is probably about 55,000. I journeyed through the Kuanyama country in July, halfway through the dry season, but found that cattle were watered at deep wells from which men and women were constantly drawing water for the herds. Near Ondjiva, only a few miles from British South West Africa, the ruler of the Vakuanyama owned at that time 14,000 head of cattle.

After examining 1,200 objects collected in Angola, I feel sure that cultural contact between the Ovimbundu and the Vakuanyama is unimportant, so far as artifacts are concerned; but, if the inquiry turns to other aspects of culture, there is a more fruitful line of investigation.

Many beliefs and customs center in the keeping of cattle in east and south Africa. The typical cattle-keeping area begins with the Bahima in the vicinity of Lake Victoria Nyanza. The region extends down the eastern side of the continent, through the south and southwest into Damaraland. The Vakuanyama of southern Angola should be included in this area, which has homologies in respect to certain laws, ceremonies, economic customs, and religious beliefs.

The true pastoral area of the south of Angola extends at least as far north as Huila, where there is sufficient rainfall to produce good pasture in open country which is well adapted for raising stock. All the traditions of the Ovimbundu, along with the writings of Battell, suggest this southwest part of Angola as the line of entry for cattle. The Congo basin is not a pastoral country, and transportation of cattle from Rhodesia would necessitate the crossing of hundreds of miles of arid country in Moxico, eastern Angola. There remains, therefore, the cattle-keeping area of south and southwest

3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

heavy torso, disproportionately long arms, a dark skin, prognathous jaws, broad nostrils, thick everted lips, and woolly hair. But usually a modification of these features occurs in Bantu-speaking Negroes. How did this modification of physique arise?

A. C. Haddon (Wandering of Peoples, p. 54) expresses a generally accepted view when he states that Bantu-speaking Negroes are a mixture of true Negroes with Hamites. Seligman (Races of Africa, p. 181) refers to an infusion of Hamitic blood which has differentiated the Bantu Negroes from true Negroes, and this is a generally accepted hypothesis. But Torday (H. Spencer, Descriptive Sociology of African Races, preface, p. iii) questions whether the physical and linguistic cleavage between Bantu-speaking and Sudanic-speaking Negroes is due to an admixture of Hamitic blood. He attributes the physical differences of the two great linguistic divisions of Negroes to disparity of environmental conditions. But at present no physical anthropologist could say to what extent climatic factors, nutrition, and other environmental conditions can be held responsible for the physical differences of Negroes.

The question of a mingling of Hamite and true Negro to produce a modified type of Negro is not the only difficulty. How does one account for aberrant Negroid types such as the Pygmies of the Ituri forest and the Bushmen? They have a phylogenetic relationship, but what is the racial affinity? Again, will change of environmental conditions account for the Pygmy and Bushman types? Or are we to form a hypothesis of origins by assuming establishment of new species by variation or mutation?

In the absence of certain knowledge science accepts a hypothesis which best explains the known facts. And in this matter of a modified Negro type speaking Bantu languages, the idea of a mingling of the blood of Negroes and Hamites best explains the gradation of physical types from west African, Sudanic-speaking Negroes, through various types of Bantu Negroes, to Hamites, as exemplified by the Somali, Beja, and Hadendoa.

The main characters of linguistic families of Africa are clearly defined by A. Werner (Language Families of Africa, pp. 20–23) who refers to the works of D. Westermann and C. Meinhof. The distinguishing features of Hamitic, Semitic, Bantu, Sudanic, and Bushman speech are known, yet the task of placing a particular language in its appropriate family is not always simple. The classification may depend on the particular facet of the language which is under examination. Hausa (Hamitic), is difficult to classify

3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

since the language has Sudanic and Hamitic elements with some Semitic roots. The earliest relationships of African linguistic families, for instance Hamitic and Semitic, also Sudanic, Bantu, and Bushman, is a field for further research. To take only one instance of complexity, Bantu is divided into more than two hundred languages and innumerable dialects, whose origin, structure, and evolution have been treated by C. Meinhof (Introduction to the Phonology of the Bantu Languages, London, 1932; a translation, by A. Werner and N. J. von Warmelo, of Meinhof's Grundriss eine Lautlehre der Bantusprachen).

In conclusion of this summary of the background of African history, there arises the difficulty of ascribing to each of the races those cultural elements for which the race is responsible, either by primary invention within Africa, or by introduction from some source outside Africa. The difficulty may be illustrated by quotations relating to the iron industry of African Negroes. Rival theories claim origin of the craft in Asia, in Egypt, and among African Negroes themselves.

Seligman (Races of Africa, p. 158) states, "We may believe that the Negro, who is now an excellent iron worker, learnt this art from the Hamite." Torday writes (H. Spencer, Descriptive Sociology of African Races, preface, p. iii), "To state that Bantu civilization—or any civilization whatever—is due to the ancestors of such absolutely primitive tribes as the Hadendoa and Beja (identified by some with the enigmatic Hamites) presupposes that these people who were ignorant of agriculture, or the production of iron, and of all arts and crafts denoting a higher culture, who, as we know, have not progressed a step within the past five hundred years and considered all manual labor degrading, had the power to give that which they never possessed."

The complexity of argument relating to the origin of just one cultural trait, iron-working, can be judged by consulting the writings of W. Gowland (The Metals in Antiquity, *J.R.A.I.*, XLII, pp. 235–287), W. M. F. Petrie (The Arts and Crafts of Ancient Egypt), W. Belck (Die Erfinder der Eisentechnik, *Zeitsch. Ethn.*, XXXIX, pp. 335–381; XL, pp. 45–69; XLII, pp. 15–30), and F. Luschan (Eisentechnik in Afrika, *ibid.*, XLI, pp. 23–59).

Even with these reservations and disputed points in mind, it is yet possible to speculate with some accuracy respecting the origin and assembly of traits which, welded together, form the culture of the Ovimbundu.

3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

ASSEMBLING OF TRAITS

The data which have been assembled in relation to the Ovimbundu, if considered in conjunction with the analysis of African cultures made in the foregoing chapter, lead to the following historical reconstruction. 174

When somatic traits of the Ovimbundu are considered it is clear that the general type is removed from that of true Negroes. Among the Ovimbundu are persons of a slender, brown-skinned type, with some refinement of lips and nasal width; while other persons possess the opposites of these features, but in no instance as intensely as do true Negroes. I accept the view of physical admixture of Hamites with true Negroes and believe that types like the Ovimbundu and the Vakuanyama have resulted from infusion of Hamitic blood which has modified Negro somatic traits in the way mentioned. [142]

Linguistically the Ovimbundu have a pure form of Bantu speech. The Umbundu language is tonal, but there are few semantic words whose meaning depends on a high, middle, or low tone. Probably Umbundu should be classified with the southwestern Bantu languages, but further research may show that on structural grounds Umbundu has to be accorded an intermediate position between the southwestern and the central Bantu languages. Study of vocabulary definitely links Umbundu with the Ukuanyama language of the southwestern Bantu group, but conclusions based on comparison of vocabularies are hazardous because of the dissemination of Umbundu words by extensive caravan trade of the Ovimbundu. We may therefore be dealing with loan words and not with bifurcation from the same matrix. 174 197

When comparing the social pattern of the Ovimbundu with that of other African tribes the following elements of culture should be borne in mind. 174

(1) Traits associated with an archaic hunting culture.

(2) Factors typical of the culture of Negroes, both Bantu and Sudanic.

(3) Cultural traits from pastoral tribes of south and southwest Angola. These tribes speak Bantu languages but have somatic traits which are Hamitic, while their culture exhibits some main features of the Hamitic pastoral pattern.

Among the earliest elements of Umbundu culture would probably be the traits of hunting and food-gathering. The antiquity of hunting has been indicated by considering the wide distribution of appliances